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[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

[12] [13] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

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121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
131 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
[311] land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
• 127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

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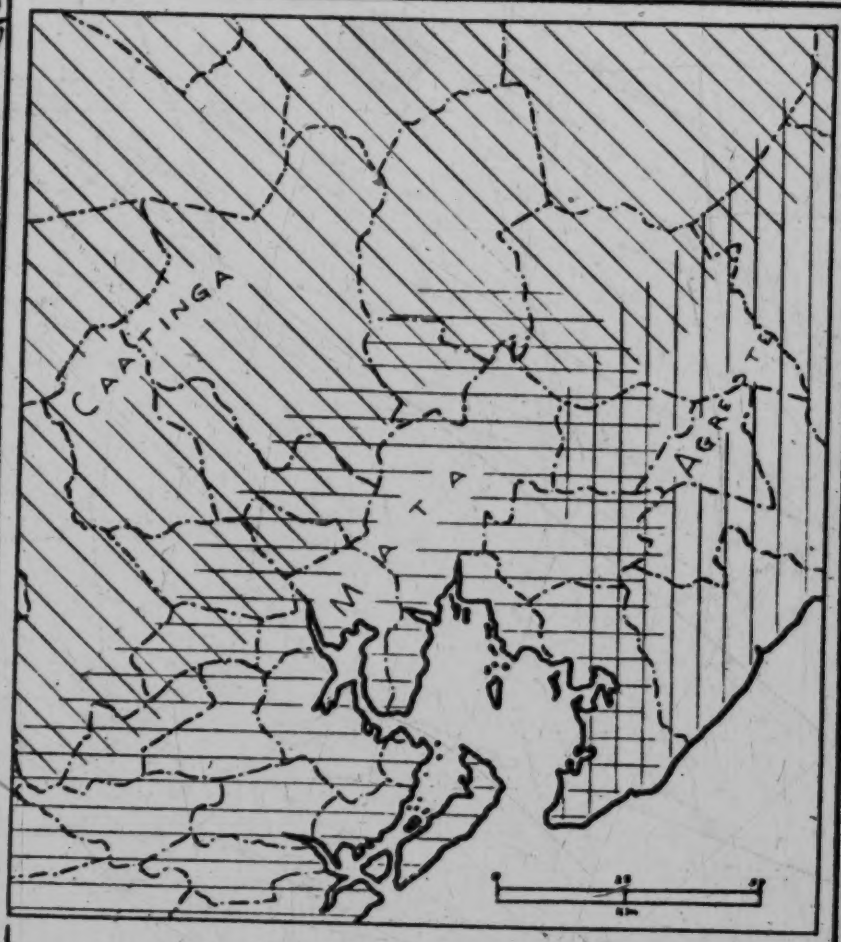

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Vegetation Types

[129]

Modified from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, Instituto Agronômico do Leste

MAP 15

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OOO Footnotes - Chapter II.

[127] [114] [1]The general scheme of classification and the map which are used in the following discussion are based upon the field interpretation of small-scale geologic and topographic maps. The description of the land-forms is based upon field experience in all municípios of the Recôncavo except Coração de Maria and all other municípios shown on the maps exce Esplanada and Entre Rios. The basic sources include:

Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamen Boletin Geográfico, Vol. IX, No. 99 (June, 1951), pp. 243-281. Mario Martins de Oliveira, "Recôncavo." Map at scale of approximately 1:500,000 (Bahia: Organização Brasileira de Edições Culturais, [n.d.]). Conselho Nacional de Geografia and Departmento de Geografia, Engenharia Rural e Açudagem do Estado da Bahia, "Mapa Geral do Estado da Bahia." Map at scale of 1:1,000,000 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Institu Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953).

[2]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 261-263, and attached map.

[3]These depressions very much resemble the small depressions en-countered in karst regions. However, mechanical removal of soil materi and perhaps of rock from joints in the crystalline regolith, rather tha solution, would be the most likely process.

[4]There are two Rios Jacuípe in the Recôncavo. One is the tribu-tary of the Rio Paraguaçu mentioned above. The other is the main strea of the central part of the sugar cane zone, which drains eastward direc to the ocean.

[114] [5]Bondar, op. cit., p. 253. In Brazil, Bondar is recognized as t outstanding authority on the soils of Bahia.

[6]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[7]Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobat Revista Brasileira de Geografia, Vol. I, No. 2 (July-September, 1939), pp. 57-83.

[8]Other sources used as a basis for the discussion and mapping of soils were: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Geology and Climate (Information Sheet No. 2, with geological information maps and sections furnished by Horace E. Williams. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931], 28 pp. Orlando G. Teixeira, "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahi Boletin da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria, e Comercio do Estado da Bahia, Vol. XLIX, No. 11.

[9]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[10]However, this presumed low fertility is not always reflected in lower actual yields.

[11]Geology and Climate, p. 10.

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[12]Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13]The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuicara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14]These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15]Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16]Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17]One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18]Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19]According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a CA'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20]Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21]Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologi Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1[illegible]-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia, Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941). (3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

[22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is related to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

30 The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] 31 Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] 32 The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Léste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] 33 Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] 34 Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

35 Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the município of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

36 For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

000 Footnotes - Chapter IV.

B BB [127]

[1]The basic sources of population data used in the following demographic analysis were:

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia, Vol. I (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950). Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953. Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8.

B [13] [162]

[2]This coastal belt includes 36 per cent of the area of Brazil and, in 1950, over 90 per cent of its population.

NB [633] [162]

[3]After Salvador, the chief cities of the state of Bahia were:

Feira de Santana (in Recôncavo)	26,559	- 1950 population
Itabuna	25,351	" "
Ilhéus	22,593	" "
Alagoinhas (in Recôncavo)	21,283	" "
Jequié	20,652	" "

[4]Mineiros, inhabitants of Minas Gerais; Paulistas, inhabitants of São Paulo; Gaúchos, inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul; Pernambucanos, inhabitants of Pernambuco.

[5]See, for example, section by Charles Wagley in Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), pp. 10-11 and map op. p. 65.

[6]T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), p. 186.

[7]Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8, p. 47.

[8]Ibid., p. 59. In the 1940 census the racial classes were: brancos (white), pretos (black), amarelos (yellow), and outros (other). In the Recôncavo the "others" were predominately mulatto.

[9]A dark skin is a social disadvantage and thus may, in certain circumstances, limit the economic opportunity of the Negro or mulatto. The composition of the upper class, with occasional dark-skinned individuals and many brancos da Bahia (persons with Caucasoid appearance but known Negro or mulatto ancestors) testifies to the racial fluidity of the Recôncavo compared with the American South. These individuals have access to such opportunities for education and cultural development as are available to the upper class in the Recôncavo.

[10]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

[11]See section by Harry W. Hutchinson in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 16-1

[12]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 10-11 and map op. p. 65.

[13]Smith, op. cit., pp. 633-634.

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Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

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[11] See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

B
BB
NB
[585]
[586]
[671]

[15] Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

BB
[182]
[541]
[883]

[16] The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17] As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18] The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19] For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

BB
[127]

[20] A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[162]
[163]

[21] In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

BB
[128]

[22] In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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231 241 311 554 Livestock production, which offers social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 241 231 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 241 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

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127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related
127 statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures
128 which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a
241 detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

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Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road--Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo--is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August September, 1947), p. 120.

[128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioc is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware [127] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of [128] manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc production is discussed in Chapter II.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré

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[12] Centered in the município of Valença.

[127] [13] In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14] For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15] Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16] See Appendix E.

[17] The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18] However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19] In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[127] [20] The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Monato Marques, Geografia do Fumo na Bahia (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas, Monato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21] For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22] The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [35] [23] The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24] The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, a is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Cou Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 19 p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits a weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. Th production data are more reasonable.

[248] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvest in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensit of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [219] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the da on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivatio changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the ligh of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié—the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré—and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between th two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations o Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [129] [114]

[1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804]

[2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243]

[4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[239]

[5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

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[6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VII

[436] [1]The approximate value of the cruzeiro at the time these data were compiled by the government was five cents.

[127] [2]The basic sources for data on livestock populations used in t following discussion were: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948," pp. 1-8 (2) Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vo

[3]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia Vol. II.

[4]The use of the term "milk shed," generally applied to the tre mendous movement of milk into the highly urbanized centers of the Uni States and western Europe, is somewhat inappropriate for the small-sc operations in Bahia. However, the essential elements are the same: movement from countryside to urban places of fluid milk for home consumption.

[127] [5]Anuario Estatística do Brasil--1953 is used as a source of 19 data on the livestock population of the state of Bahia in this and th following discussion.

[491] [6]Although there are trunk highways through São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana, the back country of each is remote from the cidade and the highway.

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CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares, and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [129] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. [178] It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

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241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município. Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation. The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production) and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municipios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accur available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earli and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[129] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made i the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in "major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, cocomuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [84] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, an part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but withou title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an oversee and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area arou Salvador.

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Footnotes - Chapter IX

[127] [redacted] data used in the discussion of the value of agricultural production have been drawn from the following sources: 1948 crop data--Produção Agrícola: 1948; 1948 livestock data--"Pobulação Pecuária, em 31/12/1948;" 1940 crop and livestock data--Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[128] The modifications which have been made in the data taken from Produção Agrícola: 1948 are explained in Appendix D. The method used in estimating the value of livestock production in 1948 is explained in Appendix G.

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

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The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand,

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the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

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241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127
128 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

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244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
127
128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4,290,000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27,333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28,000 \text{ tons}}{2,100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare—seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

244 gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to
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127 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.
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[435] In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc--Cr.$80 per ton--indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios--Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133, and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a
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27 yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield
128 of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively, and therefore the maps in Chapter V were based upon the original data.

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243
127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

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433 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
127 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by artitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data 249 433 127 128 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[113] [1]Antonio Monanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

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APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XII). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

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TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

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	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the cruzeiro. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

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[1] Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

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phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.

217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and

• [127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of
609 being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

*565
585
[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565
585 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
583 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were
[125] simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are
[161] shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes
[127] attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

advanced in our study also describe regions "located far beyond the limits of the city of Bahia." Do these hypotheses also hold true, in general, for all Brazil? An extensive bibliography regarding the "racial" situation outside the Bahian area was analyzed in preparation for this Introduction, but limitations of space obviously make a detailed consideration of these studies impossible here.[26] One might suggest briefly, however, certain variants between Bahia, on the one hand, and, for instance, São Paulo, on the other.

The development of plantations came relatively late to the state of São Paulo, in comparison with northern Brazil; in fact, not many years before emancipation. As Samuel H. Lowrie (1938:9) reminds us, this area throughout much of its history saw few Africans or their descendants, in comparison to the plantation areas of the northeast coast. The "extreme poverty" of its early colonists did not permit the purchase of African slaves; nor was there at that time much demand for them, owing to the absence of plantations and the relative facility with which Amerindian slaves could be obtained for other services. The relations of master to slave involving Africans and their descendants began for most São Paulo owners when they were away from home, in search of gold or diamonds in Minas Gerais. These contacts on the whole were probably more categoric and less primary than those which ordinarily developed on the northern plantations. Although miscegenation involving Amerindians was basic to the formation of the original population of São Paulo, miscegenation involving Africans and their descendants, not only then but later, was much less here than in Bahia, Sergipe, or Pernambuco. Besides, European immigra-

[26] Perhaps such will appear elsewhere. Attention already has been called to a few of these materials (Pierson 1955).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOIl Bahia Brazilians SOIl

occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not accurately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

TABLE 4*

DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a racial minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any depository in Bahia. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study indicated that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines and that solidarity and co-operation tend to be organized along class lines.

Since, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites in Bahia do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste. Although the hierarchy of occupations still takes a decidedly pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has predominantly larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly dominant in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites fall into endogamous but not necessarily occupational groupings, one might say that the structure here takes the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in free association with, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by, a dominant racial majority. Such is the relation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. Of the latter, Park has said:

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

advanced in our study also describe regions "located far beyond the limits of the city of Bahia." Do these hypotheses also hold true, in general, for all Brazil? An extensive bibliography regarding the "racial" situation outside the Bahian area was analyzed in preparation for this Introduction, but limitations of space obviously make a detailed consideration of these studies impossible here.[26] One might suggest briefly, however, certain variants between Bahia, on the one hand, and, for instance, São Paulo, on the other.

The development of plantations came relatively late to the state of São Paulo, in comparison with northern Brazil; in fact, not many years before emancipation. As Samuel H. Lowrie (1938:9) reminds us, this area throughout much of its history saw few Africans or their descendants, in comparison to the plantation areas of the northeast coast. The "extreme poverty" of its early colonists did not permit the purchase of African slaves; nor was there at that time much demand for them, owing to the absence of plantations and the relative facility with which Amerindian slaves could be obtained for other services. The relations of master to slave involving Africans and their descendants began for most São Paulo owners when they were away from home, in search of gold or diamonds in Minas Gerais. These contacts on the whole were probably more categoric and less primary than those which ordinarily developed on the northern plantations. Although miscegenation involving Amerindians was basic to the formation of the original population of São Paulo, miscegenation involving Africans and their descendants, not only then but later, was much less here than in Bahia, Sergipe, or Pernambuco. Besides, European immigra-

[26] Perhaps such will appear elsewhere. Attention already has been called to a few of these materials (Pierson 1955).

[SALVADOR]

/5/

Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

[SALVADOR]

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
• 129 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113]

1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

5: Azevedo--5 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/8 cont./

122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University, in New York, for the well-informed collaboration that he has kindly given to the organization of the plan of investigation and to the investigation itself, as director of the program mentioned above; Professor Anisio S. Texeira for his clear discussion of certain topics of work and for the support he gave in his capacity as secretary general of the foundation. It is also necessary for me to thank Mr. Alfred Métraux of the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco, who approved our plans for the investigation and the choice of my person to direct it, who has had the kindness to read my notes, to discuss with me the numerous problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude for the excellent co-operation that my assistants in the investigation gave me: Marie Amélie C. Leite, Professor of the School of Social Service of Bahia, Josildeth S. Gomes and Thérèse Cardoso, my students of anthropology of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Bahia, and my daughter Sylvia de Azevedo, as well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R. Sena for other forms of unselfish collaboration, not excepting the excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assist-
[127] ance. I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional work for having facilitated for me access to their card-
115 index cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

[SALVADOR]

/23 cont./

Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

• 127
165
*563

Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

161
*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

[113]

3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

[SALVADOR]

/50 cont./

*563 444 464 829 U27 *563 44 464

informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

/67 cont./

*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and [162] Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

• [127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of [162] 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346